

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 13770

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: HUMPHREY-SOARES MEETING

1. SUMMARY: IN HOUR-LONG MEETING WITH SENATOR HUMPHREY SEPTEMBER 5, MARIO SOARES MADE STRONG APPEAL FOR USG TO EXERCISE ALL ITS INFLUENCE 1) TO DISCOURAGE AZOREAN SEPARATISTS FROM MAKING A BID FOR INDEPENDENCE AND 2) TO PERSUADE FRANCO GOVERNMENT NOT TO PERMIT SPINOLA TO MOUNT A COUNTER-COUP FROM SPANISH SOIL. EITHER EVENTUALITY, HE FEARED, WOULD ENABLE COMMUNISTS TO MOBILIZE WIDESPREAD POPULAR SUPPORT AND REGAIN MUCH OF THE INFLUENCE THEY HAD LOST IN RECENT MONTHS. THE TIDE IS RUNNING STEADILY TOWARDS THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES, SOARES SAID, AND THE ISSUE WILL BE DECIDED WITHIN ONE MONTH.

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2. HUMPHREY ASSURED SOARES THAT HE ENJOYED "TREMENDOUS SUPPORT" IN THE US CONGRESS, AND THAT ONCE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IN LISBON, SUBSTANTIAL US ECONOMIC AID WOULD PROMPTLY BE MADE AVAILABLE. HUMPHREY ALSO PROMISED TO PUT SOARES IN CONTACT WITH VARIOUS AMERICAN TRADE UNION AND FARM ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP BOLSTER HIS INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. END SUMMARY.

3. SENATOR HUMPHREY MET WITH MARIO SOARES AT NUMBER TEN DOWNING STREET FOR ONE HOUR LAST EVENING (SEPTEMBER 5). MEETING WAS SUGGESTED BY OLOF PALME AND ARRANGED BY HAROLD WILSON. WILSON INTRODUCED THE TWO MEN AND THEN DEPARTED; EMBOFF AND SOARES' INTERPRETER WERE ONLY OTHERS PRESENT.

4. SOARES BEGAN BY OUTLINING THE CURRENT PROSPECTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AS HE SAW THEM. THEY HAD PASSED THROUGH A VERY DIFFICULT TIME, BUT THE TIDE OF POPULAR SUPPORT WAS NOW RUNNING OVERWHELMINGLY IN THEIR FAVOR. THEY WERE WINNING OVER MANY SECTORS OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THE TRADE UNIONS, AND TOGETHER WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WERE ABLE TO MOUNT IMPRESSIVE STREET DEMONSTRATION. THE COMMUNISTS, HE ASSERTED, COULD NO LONGER WIN, ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT ATTEMPT SOME "CRAZY IDEA" LIKE TAKING OVER LISBON. SOCIALISTS WERE TRYING TO PERSUADE THEM TO YIELD PEACEFULLY, BUT PCP, HE SAID, WORKED TO A POLICY DICTATED IN MOSCOW, AND MOSCOW WAS INTERESTED IN MAINTAINING TENSIONS IN PORTUGAL.

5. TWO POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS MIGHT, HOWEVER, REVERSE THIS POPULAR TREND TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES, SOARES FEARED. AS HE HAD ALREADY ALERTED AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI, A STRONG SEPARATIST MOVEMENT IN THE AZORES WAS PROMOTED AND FINANCED BY PORTUGUESE-AMERICANS LIVING IN THE US. THE COMMUNISTS WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO SEE THE SEPARATISTS MAKE A BID FOR INDEPENDENCE SINCE THAT WOULD GIVE THEM A PRETEXT FOR BLAMING AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND STAGING A COUP ON THE MAINLAND. IT WAS "EXTREMELY IMPORTANT," SOARES SAID, THAT THE USG NOT SUPPORT OR ENCOURAGE THE SEPARATISTS IN ANY WAY.
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6. THE OTHER DANGER ENVISAGED BY SOARES WAS AN ATTEMPTED COUNTER-COUP BY MILITARY UNITS NOW FORMING UP IN SPAIN AND HEADED BY GENERAL SPINOLA. ANY SUCH MOVE, HE SAID, WOULD LEAD TO GREAT MOBILIZATION OF POPULAR SUPPORT BEHIND THE COMMUNISTS, ALLOWING THEM TO REGAIN THE GROUND THEY HAD LOST. SOARES URGED THE USG TO BRING DISCRETE DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE TO BEAR ON SPAIN TO PREVENT THIS FROM

HAPPENING. (WHEN HUMPHREY SUBSEQUENTLY SOUGHT CONFIRMATION THAT HE HAD UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY THAT SOARES DIDN'T WANT SPINOLA TO INTERVENE, SOARES ANSWERED, "NO, AT LEAST NOT SO LONG AS WE HAVE A CHANCE TO WIN PEACEFULLY." THE IMPLICATION, PRESUMABLY, WAS THAT IF IT CAME TO A CIVIL WAR WITH THE COMMUNISTS, THEN SPINOLA'S AID WOULD NOT BE SPURNED.)

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7. IN ESSENCE, SOARES SAID, HE WAS ASKING FOR ONE MONTH'S SUSPENSION OF THESE OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES BECAUSE WITHIN ONE MONTH THE ISSUE WOULD BE DECIDED. THE NEW CONSTITUTION WOULD BE READY BY THEN, HE CLAIMED, AND THE COMMUNISTS WOULD HAVE TO MAKE A PLAY FOR POWER BEFORE NEW

ELECTIONS WERE HELD OR ELSE ACCEPT THAT THE GAME WAS UP. THE PCP HAS A CIVILIAN MILITIA OF 4 TO 5,000 MEN ARMED WITH CZECH AND EAST GERMAN WEAPONS, BUT IN THE PRESENT CLIMATE OF POPULAR OPINION, THEY WOULD NOT DARE TRY TO STAGE A COUP.

8. SOARES REVIEWED FOR HUMPHREY THE CONTENTS OF HIS RECENT LETTER TO COSTA GOMES INDICATING THE CONDITIONS LAID DOWN BY THE PS FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE GOVERNMENT. HE
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ALSO DESCRIBED THE ADMINISTRATIVE PARALYSIS AND ECONOMIC CHAOS THAT THE PRESENT REGIME WAS CAUSING IN PORTUGAL. HE STRESSED THAT WHEN A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT CAME TO POWER IT WOULD NEED ECONOMIC AID AND HEAVY INVESTMENTS FROM THE EC AND THE US.

9. HUMPHREY TOLD SOARES THAT HE ENJOYED "TREMENDOUS SUPPORT" IN THE US CONGRESS. HE REMINDED HIM THAT CONGRESS HAD ALREADY APPROPRIATED SOME ECONOMIC AID FOR PORTUGAL, AND ASSURED HIM THAT IF A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT CAME INTO OFFICE, CONGRESS WOULD PROMPTLY OFFER SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL AID. HE ALSO AGREED WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITH SOARES' ASSESSMENT OF THE DANGERS POSED BY THE AZOREAN SEPARATIST AND BY SPINOLA AND SAID HE WOULD TAKE THESE MATTERS UP WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND WITH SECRETARIES KISSINGER AND SCHLESINGER.

10. HUMPHREY THEN URGED SOARES TO CULTIVATE CONTACTS WITH AMERICAN TRADE UNION AND FARM ORGANIZATIONS WHO MIGHT LEND HIM MORAL SUPPORT AND TOKEN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. HE PROMISED TO TALK TO GEORGE MEANY AND ARRANGE FOR THE PS TO BE INVITED TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO THE AFL-CIO ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN SAN FRANCISCO IN OCTOBER. HE SUGGESTED THAT SOARES THINK OUT WHAT HE WOULD LIKE AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS TO DO FOR HIM. SOARES WAS DELIGHTED WITH THESE PROPOSALS AND PROMISED TO ELABORATE A PLAN. HUMPHREY STRESSED THAT USG WANTED TO BE HELPFUL BUT DIDN'T WANT TO CAUSE DEMOCRATIC FORCES ANY EMBARRASSMENT OR LEAVE THEM OPEN TO CHARGES FROM THE COMMUNISTS, HENCE TIES WITH PROGRESSIVE, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT BE EASIER TO MANAGE. "WE WANT YOU TO SUCCEED," HE TOLD SOARES.

11. HUMPHREY ASKED SOARES FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF COSTA GOMES. FOR A LONG TIME, SOARES REPLIED, WE THOUGHT HE WAS SIMPLY A WEAK MAN, BUT NOW WE ARE FORCED TO CONCLUDE THAT HE IS THE VICTIM OF COMMUNIST BLACKMAIL (FOR "IRREGULAR ACTS DURING COLONIAL WARS"). SOARES URGED USG AND NATO TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON COSTA GOMES TO DUMP GONCALVE

ESPECIALLY BEFORE SEPTEMBER 22 WHEN COSTA GOMES IS
SCHEDULED TO DEPART FOR A VISIT TO THE USSR. HUMPHREY
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AND SOARES EXCHANGED THE NAMES OF VARIOUS US MILITARY
PERSONALITIES (GOODPASTER, LEMNITZER, MOORER, WALKER) WHO
MIGHT ONCE HAVE KNOWN COSTA GOMES AND MIGHT STILL HAVE
SOME RESIDUAL INFLUENCE ON HIM. HUMPHREY PROMISED TO
PURSUE THE IDEA IN WASHINGTON.

12. HUMPHREY RETURNED TO THE ROLE OF THE USSR IN PORTU-
GAL AND ASKED SOARES IF HE HAD REQUESTED AMBASSADOR
CARLUCCI TO ASK PRESIDENT FORD TO TELL BREZHNEV THAT USG
TOOK A DIM VIEW OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES. SOARES SAID THAT
HE HAD. HUMPHREY NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS NEED US WHEAT
AND THAT "WE SHOULD PLAY TOUGH WITH THEM" THERE THEN FOL-
LOWED A BRIEF DISGRESSION ON HOW HUMPHREY HAD BESTED THE
COMMUNISTS IN A FIGHT FOR CONTROL OF THE FARMER-LABOR
PARTY IN MINNESOTA IN THE 1930'S.

13. IN CLOSING, SOARES EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR
THE "TACTFUL WAY" IN WHICH THE USG HAS CONDUCTED ITSELF
DURING THIS DIFFICULT TIME IN PORTUGAL. HUMPHREY IN TURN
SAID THAT IF SOARES FELT THERE WAS ANYTHING HE COULD DO
PERSONALLY TO HELP, SOARES SHOULD JUST LET AMBASSADOR
CARLUCCI KNOW. SOARES INVITED HUMPHREY TO VISIT PORTUGAL
AFTER THE CURRENT CRISIS IS RESOLVED, AND HUMPHREY SAID
HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO COME.

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